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impression on the intellectuals of the smaller towns. OUN-M ^{668*} writers and propagandists appear to have maintained regular con- ¹⁸⁶ tact with them for several months in 1941, and it is apparent that the Kiev *Ukrains'ke Slovo* served as a model for many of the new ^[204] editors.⁸ Schools were opened under the direction of nationalist ^[658] educators, Prosvita and theatrical groups were formed, cooperatives linked with *Vukospilka* were active. Apparently, too, the town administrations were largely in Ukrainian hands; the mu- ^[191] nicipal authorities in Uman' issued a sweeping order forbidding the use of the Russian language in any office, school, or enterprise under their jurisdiction.⁹

The influence of the nationalists in the towns penetrated to some degree to the countryside in the area west of the Dnieper. For example, nationalist papers like *Nova Doba*, published in ^[204] Berdichev, seem to have had a moderately large circulation in the villages. There also seem to have been nationalist influences of a purely local character in some places, aside from those brought in by the nationalist parties. Zvenigorodka, a small town about a hundred miles due south of Kiev had been the home of the Free Cossacks, a nationalist organization of the wealthier peasants during the revolutionary period. The group was revived by some of the villagers under the German occupation, and, together with a mimeographed newspaper, served as a focal point for local nationalism.¹⁰

The influence of the church, especially in the rural areas, was not entirely on the side of Ukrainian nationalism.¹¹ The Auton- ⁷⁹⁴ omous clergy under Alexius made an early start in reorganizing ¹⁸⁶ religious life in this region. They established a diocese of Vinnitsa and Zhitomir, and during most of the period of occupation were supported by the influential Bishop Damaskin (Maliuti) of Kamienets-Podolsk. Damaskin's diocese included nearly five hundred churches, with a hundred and sixty priests.¹¹ Apparently most of this large organization, which was overwhelmingly concentrated in the rural districts, had no objection to Damaskin's allegiance to the Russophile church. The Autocephalous Church

* Interview 30.

⁸ *Nastup*, May 3, 1942, p. 2.

⁹ R. Sutor in *Krakivs'ki Visti*, July 31, 1942, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Krakivs'ki Visti*, October 13, 1942, p. 2.

¹¹ [After Germans had occupied this territory--Analyst]

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794 established its own organization, installing a bishop in Zhitomir,
186 as well as the energetic Ihor in Belaia Tserkov'. Ihor was replaced for a time by Emmanuel, but when the latter passed over to the Autonomous Church, he took a new post in western Volhynia, perhaps because he found the rather strong nationalist atmosphere in Belaia Tserkov' unpleasant. The fact that the Autonomous Church was able to maintain such a strong organization indicates that sentiment in the rural areas was not always ardently nationalist, even in the most "pure" of Ukrainian lands.

631 The wooded steppe region east of the Dnieper, the "Left Bank," constituted the second half of the traditional Ukrainian heartland. The western part had been for centuries under Polish and Lithuanian rule, coming under Moscow in the late seventeenth century, together with Kiev. The eastern part, roughly equivalent to the Kharkov *oblast*, had never been under Polish rule, but had owed allegiance to the tsars. It served as a refuge for serfs escaping from their Polono-Lithuanian masters, and hence was known as the "Slobozhanshchyna" or "Free Land." Since even the western part of the "Left Bank" had been annexed by the Russian Empire long before the partitions of Poland, however, its history diverged considerably from that of the "Right Bank."

668* The most interesting nationalist developments in this region during 1941-43 took place in Kharkov. While Kharkov was always claimed as the second city of the Ukraine, it never occupied the place in nationalist thinking which Kiev held, and the fact that the Russian ethnic and linguistic element there was strong aroused less indignation. Some account of the differences in the nationalist movements in Kiev and Kharkov has already been given. The essential divergence arose from the fact that the OUN-M organizers reached the latter city only in November, when their period of grace was already running out. Enthusiasm was great enough for them to secure powerful support from local people. A strong *ekzekutyva* was formed with a mayor of one of the city *raions*, an ardently nationalist professor, George Boiko, and several other local people, in addition to Kononenko, the chief West Ukrainian organizer, as members.¹² The adherence of

*OUN u Viini (The OUN in the War), Information Section of the OUN (UWR), April, 1946, p. 75; Interview 57.

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work directed by Eugene Stakhiv did what it could to encourage ^{668*} national tendencies among the local Ukrainians.⁷⁰

The city of Mariupol' was an outstanding exception to the ¹⁸⁶ conditions prevailing throughout most of the area. While Mariupol' was administratively part of the Donbas, lying in the Stalino ^{668*} *oblast*, it is over fifty miles from the Donets basin itself, on the ³⁶⁹ shore of the Sea of Azov. Like the other cities of the Donbas, however, it had grown enormously, more than tripling in size between the two Soviet censuses. Even after the losses of ~~war~~, its population numbered 178,358, placing it not far below the largest Ukrainian metropolises.⁷¹ What is remarkable for a city in the Donbas, or indeed in the whole southern area, is that it was under full Ukrainian control. Its well-developed Prosvita society and Ukrainian educational system have already been mentioned. The Orthodox Church is said to have been active and oriented ^[794] toward Ukrainian nationalism, although here as elsewhere in the far south Protestants and dissident Orthodox sects played an important role.⁷² In addition, the mayor was outspokenly nationalist, encouraging the formation of a Ukrainian military force.⁷³ Probably the guiding spirit in the nationalist development in the city, however, was Nicholas Stasiuk, minister of supply under the Rada in 1918, who had managed to survive the Soviet period by working as a park attendant.⁷⁴ He took over the ^[204] editorship of *Mariupil's'ka Hazeta* which, although restricted by the paper shortage especially acute in the treeless south, was the second most influential Ukrainian paper on the "Left Bank" (next to *Nova Ukraina*). While necessarily cautious, its tone was strongly nationalist. Moreover, in addition to Stasiuk, there were a number of nationalist journalists to aid in carrying on the newspaper's work. Stasiuk himself is said not only to have carried on this legal pronationalist activity, but to have assisted the OUN-B underground which made its area base in the city.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ I.e. Stakhiv, p. 50; Interview 66.

⁷¹ *L'vivsk'i Visti*, August 27, 1942, p. 2; *Krakivsk'i Visti*, July 24, 1942, p. 2.

⁷² *Krakivsk'i Visti*, October 3, 1942, p. 2.

⁷³ Cf. Chapter VII.

⁷⁴ Interview 66; *Krakivsk'i Visti*, August 7, 1942, p. 2.

⁷⁵ I.e. Stakhiv, pp. 52-54; Interview 66. The nationalist tone of *Mariupil's'ka Hazeta* is apparent from the considerable number of its articles reprinted in the West Ukrainian and émigré press.